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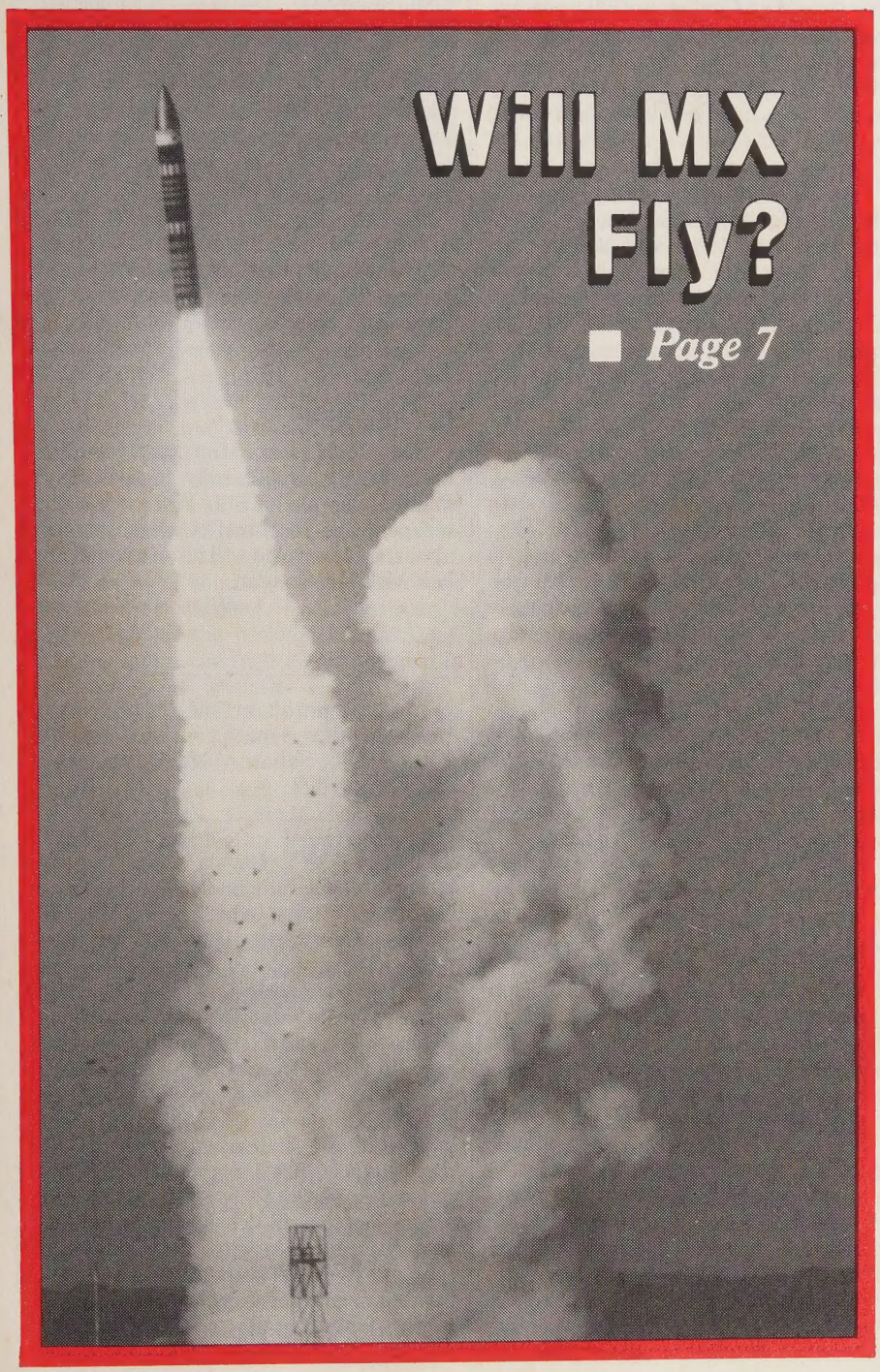


Will MX Fly?

■ *Page 7*

The Budget: Now Or Never

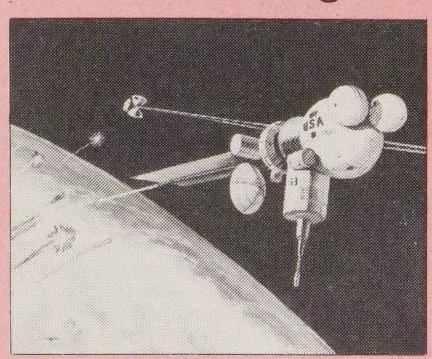
By Gordon Adams

Military spending has finally become an urgent issue. After years of focusing on the freeze, the MX and Star Wars, the peace community has started to come to terms with the setting for all of these programs: the Reagan Administration's commitment to the largest increase in military spending in postwar history. Unless the dramatic growth in the Defense Department's budget is slowed this year, Americans will be paying a bitter price for years to come.

(*continued on page 16*)

Star Wars: The Sequel

■ *Page 10*



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CONTENTS

EARLY WARNINGS 3
BLUEPRINTS 6
NATIONAL 7
A series of impending votes on the fate of the MX promises to provoke a frenzy on Capitol Hill. Plus: Debate heats up on the desirability of Star Wars and hundreds of groups prepare for the "April Mobilization." And a look at how to invest your cash without compromising your principles.
FORUM 16
Why the military budget can—and must—be frozen this year.
By Gordon Adams.
NOTES FROM ABROAD 17
IDEAS THAT WORK 18
RESOURCES 18
CALENDAR 21
AUGUST 6/AUGUST 9 22

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Managing Editor Renata Rizzo
Resources Editor Ann Marie Cunningham
Contributing Editors David Corn, Corinna Gardner, Suzanne Gordon, Howard Kohn, Maria Margaronis
Art Director Lloyd Dangle

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Letters

By Any Other Name

The most obvious problem with the Freeze Campaign [Jan-Feb '85] is its name. It is no longer a dynamic label since our intent was corrupted in the 1984 presidential race, and since "freeze" now means no increase in various government payments. Since we really mean "nuclear disarmament," why not adopt the name Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (a dynamic term) and thereby give support to the British movement at the same time? Old Confucius 2500 years ago urged that things should be called by their correct names. I'm all for CND instead of Freeze Campaign.

—Theodore Herman
Cornwall, Pa.

Say "Never"

It was nice to see Ed Hacker's well-written report about the Santa Cruz County Planning Commission saying no to Lockheed and the Trident [Jan-Feb '85]—a nice counterpoint to Howard Morland's plea for more congressional lobbying on Trident. Ed failed to mention the nuclear free zone (NFZ) connections, however. The campaign against Lockheed began back in 1980 with an NFZ referendum—the first in this country—that Lockheed spent over $200,000 to defeat, 60 percent to 40 percent. The local organizers never gave up and, lo and behold, five years later they've won an impressive victory. (As you probably already know, the Board of Supervisors also voted 3 to 2 against Lockheed on January 8.)

The "defeated" NFZ campaigns in Santa Monica and Ann Arbor are also still active, and working on new initiatives. The motto of the NFZ movement may be "Think Globally and Act Locally" but the reality is "Never Give Up."

—Albert Donnay
Baltimore, Md.

Fritz Busted

The apologia for the Mondale campaign conveyed in the December NUCLEAR TIMES should not be allowed to pass without serious qualification. As a member of the board of Connecticut Freeze Voter, I never saw any of Mondale's national literature. After the Democratic National Convention I heard no talk about the freeze emanating from Mondale or his campaign. All of Mondale's publicly announced foreign and military advisers were from the hawkish wing of the party. (Conversely, there were no publicized overtures or consultations with well-known freeze supporters, even with such establishment types as George Ball or William Colby.) Mondale's running mate, in her three campaign trips to Connecticut, never allowed the word "freeze" to pass her lips. In their nationally televised debates, neither Mondale nor Ferraro was able or willing to answer questions about verifying a nuclear weapons freeze, thus leading the general public to conclude that no cogent case could be made on that point. Far from taking a leadership role on the freeze, Mondale seemed only to want to prove his "toughness," while running scaremongering commercials on television.

Nevertheless, in Connecticut's Third Congressional District, Connecticut Freeze Voter did not turn off from the national campaign to concentrate on the local race, even though our congressman, Bruce Morrison, had a much better position on the freeze than Mondale and was in one of the races targeted by national Freeze Voter '84.

One must guard against the unfortunate myth that the case for the freeze was made in its best possible form by the loser and thus deserved to lose with him. The world deserves better than this.

—Jeffrey Larson
Hamden, Ct.

Deviled Ham

For God's sake stop this madness immediately, unilaterally if necessary. What is the use of Star Wars if nuclear weapons are abolished? Unless they are abolished the world will be destroyed. To hell with Mr. Reagan.

—Winthrop Sargeant
Salisbury, Ct.

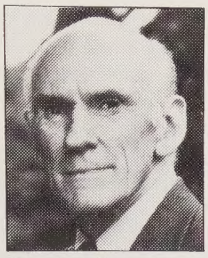
In last month's article on reelection races in the Senate, we incorrectly noted that Senator Mark Andrews favored the MX.

NOTE EDITOR

Acceptable Risks, a book co-authored by NUCLEAR TIMES' editor Greg Mitchell and Pascal Imperato, M.D., has just been published by the Viking Press. The book examines the political, psychological and philosophical dimension of a wide range of health and safety risks—from smoking and skydiving to waiting for the Greenhouse Effect to arrive. While the book does not focus on the threat of nuclear war, the way individuals and governments cope with (or ignore) such risks forms the basis of the book. *Acceptable Risks* covers in-depth such nuclear-related issues as x-rays and irradiation of food, as well as such diverse risks as earthquakes, cholesterol, auto accidents, birth control pills and cost-benefit analysis, among others.

EARLY WARNINGS

CRANSTON COOL ON FREEZE?: Newspaper accounts in late January reported that Senator Alan Cranston would not press for freeze legislation this year. Does this mean that the Senator is running away from the mainstay of his presidential campaign? "All he said was that he had no plans to introduce new freeze legislation," says a Cranston aide. In fact, Cranston has never introduced freeze legislation in the Senate. (Senators Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield introduced the initial Senate freeze measure.) Though his aide maintains that Cranston has in no way changed his position on the freeze, she says that Cranston "feels Ronald Reagan is seriously committed to the arms talks and supports the effort." She adds: "If some other senator introduces a freeze measure, he will co-sponsor it. But he will put his energy into other things and hope that the arms talks are successful."



Senator Cranston

Following the newspaper reports, Cranston issued a press release that noted he shared the legislative priorities agreed upon by an *ad hoc* collection of 20 national arms control groups. "This is not exactly on target," says Marguerite Beck-Rex of the national Freeze Campaign, "since the freeze was included in the top three priorities of this group." She notes that Cranston has not joined in the coalition's call for superpowers to use the occasion of the arms talks to initiate weapons moratoria. "Our sense," says Beck-Rex, "is that he's positioning himself in a moderate position for political reasons." Cranston faces reelection in 1986.

FREEZE BILL FINALIZED: The Freeze Campaign's comprehensive freeze bill has reached a final drafting stage. As it now stands, it deals with virtually every aspect of the nuclear-industrial complex. It calls for a six-month moratorium—a Congressionally-imposed funding cutoff—freezing warhead testing, deployment of ballistic and cruise missiles, ASATs, and strategic bombers. It is hoped that the Soviets would reciprocate. The President would conduct negotiations with the USSR for a freeze and report on the Soviets' response to the moratorium six months after passage. Congress would then vote on continuing the moratorium. The bill would also halt weapons production and freeze short-range weapons (if the moratorium continued for a year) and develop plans for converting affected industries to non-nuclear uses.

The bill was delayed by a fight between the national Freeze Campaign and a Massachusetts Freeze coalition, based in Representative Nicholas Mavroules' district. The local group wanted to reintroduce last year's Mavroules bill which did not take the funding cutoff approach, and they faulted the national bill because, among other things, it did not originally propose a freeze on hard-to-verify short-range weapons. The compromise solution: national's bill (as we went to press) includes short-range weapons, which Washington Freeze Campaign staffers say will cost the bill some support, and the Mavroules bill will probably not be reintroduced, avoiding a replay of last year's multiple-freeze-bill fiasco.

IS THAT A FACT?: The *New York Times*/CBS News survey on nuclear weapons issues in January provided all of the usual frustrating and contradictory results. One of the most disturbing findings, however, was that just one person in 12 knows *both* of the following facts: 1) There are some Soviet-U.S. arms control agreements already in effect, and 2) The Pentagon budget constitutes at least one-fourth of the Federal budget. Now, one may assume that the eight percent of the American public that does know these two facts might come from the more liberal end of the spectrum on arms control issues. Not true. The pollsters report that the members of this knowledgeable elite, in fact, are likely to *approve* of President Reagan's nuclear buildup.

Another particularly noteworthy result: the number of people who feel the United States should seek nuclear superiority over—not parity with—the Soviet Union has fallen a few points since 1981 but still weighs in at a robust 37 percent. And then there's the eternal what-do-we-do-with-this-fact: the number of people who believe that nuclear war is "likely" within the next 10 years has dropped 11 percent since 1981—but still stands at a rather shocking 29 percent.

CLOSING THE KNOWLEDGE GAP: The MacArthur Foundation, a six-year-old organization based in Chicago known for its so-called "genius grants" to individuals, has launched a three-year, $25 million International Security Program to provide funds to study nuclear arms

WARNING

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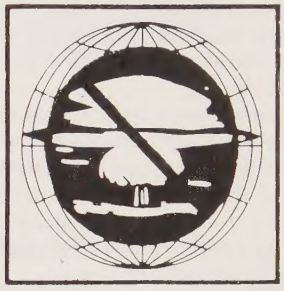

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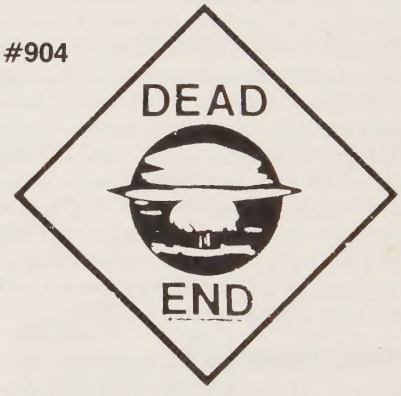

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issues. According to the foundation, which sponsored a two-year survey of existing nuclear studies programs at "American intellectual centers," the influx of money will almost double the level of annual expenditures for independent research on nuclear issues in the United States. Initially, 25 American institutions—including Stanford University, the Rand Corporation, and the Brookings Institution, and organizations like the Federation of American Scientists—will receive MacArthur funds, and each year 32 fellowships totalling more than $6 million over a five-year period will be awarded to individuals.

Jerome Wiesner

The program's "central thrust," says Jerome Wiesner, chairman of the Foundation's International Security Committee, "is to reduce the 'knowledge gap' between what we understand now and what we need to know to save the planet from extinction."

Also expanding the nuclear education field, the Ford Foundation has granted almost a half-million dollars to National Security in the Nuclear Age—Education for Citizenship, a program for teaching high school students about nuclear issues conducted by the Arms Control Association in Washington, D.C., and the Consortium for International Studies Education at Ohio State University. National Security experts and educators will begin field testing a nuclear arms handbook and curriculum guides for teachers during the 1985-1986 academic year.

PEACE BREAKER: In the midst of the $973.7 billion budget that President Reagan recently submitted to Congress, there is an ominous sign for the fledgling U.S. Institute of Peace. When Congress created the Institute last year, it authorized $10 million for its operation in fiscal year 1986. Reagan wants to give the Institute $3 million.

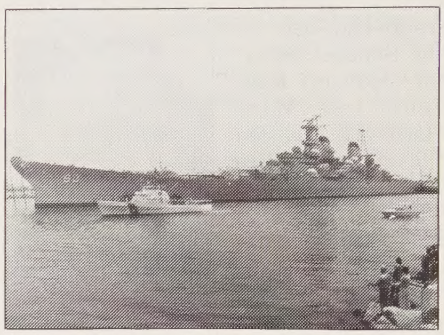
After several decades of debating legislation for a peace academy, Congress finally endorsed the Institute last September, but only after the measure had been attached as a rider to the military authorization bill. And this happened only because compromises were made, including scaling down the Institute and naming the secretaries of state and defense, the president of the National Defense University, and the head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to the organization's board. Congress empowered the Institute to conduct research on conflict resolution and to promote peace education and research at the graduate and post-graduate level. The Institute, which is to have access to classified material, was also chartered to provide grants for peace studies.

Will this ever occur? Reagan's budget for the Institute is an indication that the Administration may not be taking it too seriously. And some Administration officials have said they want to see legislative changes concerning the Institute. The telling sign will be who Reagan nominates to the Institute's board—he has until April 20 to name 11 appointive members. Will they be hawks or political hacks? The National Peace Institute Foundation, a private organization, has compiled a list of 200 potential nominees which it will submit to Reagan. "Who the Administration nominates," says Robert Conlan, executive director of the Foundation, "will show just what it has in mind for the Institute."

KNOCKING THE BOATS: Three thousand miles apart, opponents of the Navy's nuclear homeporting scheme in New York and San Francisco have discovered the rewards of good organizing.

The Navy wants to station the *U.S.S. Missouri* in either San Francisco, Long Beach (California) or Pearl Harbor. San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein vetoed a resolution, passed by the city's Board of Supervisors in January, which directed her to withdraw the city's bid for the *Missouri* if the Navy didn't promise that the ship would be nuclear-free. "I don't know anyone who thinks the *Missouri* won't have nuclear weapons," says Supervisor Richard Hongisto, the resolution's sponsor. A spokesman for the Mayor predicts that the resolution will have no effect on the Navy's choice, expected some time in March or April. Hongisto disagrees: "The Navy now knows that a majority of the Board opposes homeporting and we will block every piece of legislation facilitating the deployment of the ship. We wouldn't do this if we didn't have significant public support."

In March, Navy Secretary John Lehman will decide whether to go ahead with plans to station the nuclear battleship *U.S.S. Iowa* in New York City. Two years ago, a consensus of political leaders—with the notable exception of Manhattan Congressman Ted Weiss—welcomed the idea. But as the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor has shown, most politicians didn't know back then that they were welcoming a floating nuclear arsenal. In recent months the Coalition has educated city congressmen and local elected officials, convincing several of them (but not Mayor Edward Koch) to


U.S.S. Missouri: Boat of contention

Blips

A **Council on Economic Priorities** report on "Star Wars" contractors to be released in March identifies Lockheed, TRW and Itek as three of the leaders .... Sally Field will star next year as **Helen Caldicott** in a television movie that will focus on her antinuclear efforts in Australia during the 1960s .... **Justine Merritt**, founder of the **Peace Ribbon** project, estimates that local groups have now collected over five miles of ribbon. She now expects 100,000 to turn out on August 4 in Washington, D.C., where permits to "wrap" the White House, Pentagon, Capitol and Lincoln Memorial have been applied for. Celebratory events will be held in every state on May 26 .... A state legislator is about to introduce a bill that would require the **state of Wisconsin** to divest its holdings in the top 50 nuclear weapons contractors—some $792.5 million, or 9.3 percent of its total investments—within 5 years .... According to Representative Tom Downey, the Pentagon may eventually accept many of the nuclear winter findings to help its case for Star Wars, "so we'll only end up having a nuclear spring or fall but not a nuclear winter" .... Around March 15 look for a report from the Pentagon on verification of **sea-launched cruise missiles** .... The House Foreign Affairs Committee is planning oversight hearings in May to improve the Administration's posture on September's important **Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference**, which many antinuclear groups, such as **Greenpeace**, are also gearing up for .... The "Truckwatch" campaign organized by the Madison, Wisconsin group **Nukewatch** is picking up steam, after successful stake-outs of nuclear weapons-laden trucks leaving from the Pantex and Oak Ridge facilities. It's going national in mid-April with two dozen groups from across the country keeping tabs on "nuke trucks" .... Does the fact that two antinuclear smash hits in England, **Culture Club's** "The War Song" and **Frankie Goes to Hollywood's** "Two Tribes," flopped in the United States, despite heavy promotion, say anything about the youth of America?

PHOTO (RIGHT) BY CALIFORNIA NEWS SERVICE

join Weiss in opposing the *Iowa*. The pressure finally got to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who is "irritated" by the controversy, according to one Pentagon official. In late January, Weinberger threatened to cancel the Navy's plans unless politicians stopped asking questions.

DUST STORM: First there were reports that 300 pounds of radioactive uranium dust had leaked from the Fernald Feed Materials Production Center (a uranium processing plant) in Cincinnati, Ohio, last December. Then the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) decided in January not to renew its contract with the plant operator, NLO Inc., to produce the enriched uranium the government uses for nuclear weapons. Now four residents near the plant have filed a $500 million class-action lawsuit against NLO, claiming it is responsible for contaminating soil, air and drinking water with radiation. The company has acknowledged that the facility's air-cleaning system failed to prevent four separate releases of uranium dust, allowing it to escape from the smokestacks.

In addition to the suit, NLO is now also facing pressure from the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health, (NIOSH), a government agency, to open its worker health records to scrutiny. NIOSH is conducting an investigation of health hazards at the plant and doing a survey of cancer and mortality rates in the work force. A DOE sponsored study has already found that Fernald workers suffer from 2.5 to 5 times more lung disease than other workers. About 600 people currently work at the facility. Fernald has produced enriched uranium for the government's nuclear arsenal since 1951.

Several workers have recently filed workmen's compensation claims, according to a union representative, to obtain medical treatment and other assistance for illnesses they believe were caused by uranium dust on the job. Their medical problems include lung disease and certain types of cancer. While they await a decision from the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Board, the DOE's Inspector General is investigating workers' complaints about unsafe working conditions and, according to some reports, allegations that the company has used intimidation to discourage such complaints. A spokesman for the NLO has denied any link between radiation and the health problems common among Fernald workers. "I would expect the same thing at a flour plant," he said.

Items for this section were contributed by David Corn, Susan Jaffe, Douglas Lavin and Alex Miller.

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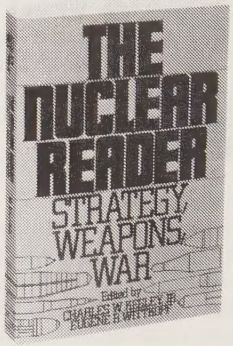

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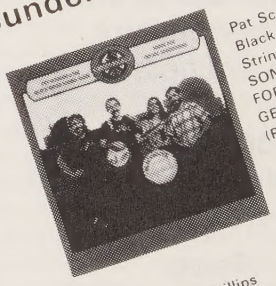
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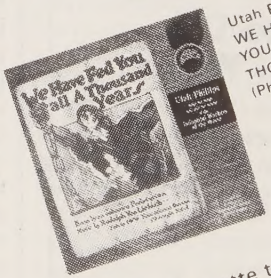

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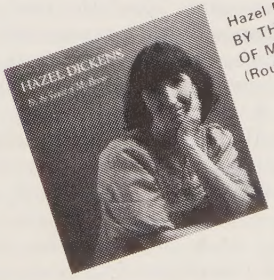

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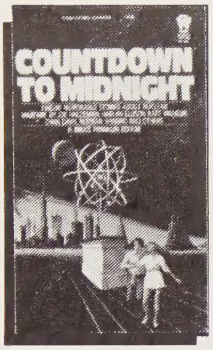

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Studies, Proposals & Brainstorms

"I can just imagine what they'll say," says Albert Carnesale, referring to public reaction to the title of the forthcoming book, *Hawks, Doves and Owls: An Agenda for Avoiding Nuclear War.* " 'Here's another turkey from those birds at Harvard.' " The book, to be published in April by W.W. Norton, comes out of the Avoiding Nuclear War Project at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. In orientation it differs from the university's most recent contribution to the nuclear debate, 1983's controversial *Living With Nuclear Weapons.* That book was conceived as a primer for the general public. *Hawks, Doves and Owls* is based on fresh research and is intended to reach an audience of policymakers.

What has not changed from the first book, however, is the basic allegiance to what Carnesale, a major contributor to both Harvard books, calls a "credible nuclear deterrent." Hence, *Hawks, Doves and Owls* is unlikely to win many friends among nuclear abolitionists, or even among freeze supporters, since, in defense of deterrence, the book promotes modernizing the strategic triad and discourages adopting no-first-use or a comprehensive freeze.

The three chief authors of *Hawks, Doves and Owls* are Carnesale, a professor at the Kennedy School, Joseph Nye Jr., another Kennedy professor, and Graham Allison, dean of the Kennedy School. The authors structured the book as a sort of "Firebreaks" game for the policymaking community. Specialists in each field explore the five most likely paths to nuclear war—surprise attack, preemption in a crisis, escalation of a conventional war, accidental or unauthorized use, and "catalytic use" (a nuclear exchange begun by terrorists or non-superpower nations). Among those describing how these outbreaks might occur and how they might best be averted are: Richard Betts, senior fellow of the Brookings Institution, who writes about surprise attack; Yale professor Paul Bracken, author of *The Command and Control of Nuclear Forces,* who writes about preemption in a crisis; and Henry Rowen, former president of the Rand Corporation, on catalytic use. In addition to analyzing the dynamics along each path, the authors assess the interactions among paths. If *Hawks, Doves and Owls* has one overriding purpose it seems to lie in illuminating the internal physics of policymaking, in revealing how an adjustment in one area can have an equal and opposite effect somewhere else.

The Avoiding Nuclear War Project was established at Harvard with a $1.5 million grant from the Carnegie Corporation in 1983. It engages academics from around the country and also carries out scholarly exchanges with the Soviets.

In another corner of Harvard, at the Law School's Nuclear Negotiation Project, William Ury is working intensively on just one of the issues taken up by *Hawks, Doves and Owls*—nuclear crisis control. "Everyone's against accidental nuclear war," Ury commented recently, "hawks, doves, bishops and generals." This lack of political polarization, in Ury's view, could give crisis control an important role at the arms talks.

A year ago Ury and Richard Smoke produced a report for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency called "Beyond the Hotline." Now Ury has completed a book by the same name for Houghton Mifflin, due out in March. The book, an expansion and popularization of the report, makes a handful of specific proposals, among them: establishing a nuclear crisis control center equipped with a teleconference system to connect U.S. and Soviet diplomats and military officers; adhering to a crisis consultation period following a nuclear detonation to ascertain the origin of the bomb and whether it was an intentional attack; and semiannual "nuclear risk reduction talks."

The book also focuses on the power of individuals to improve crisis control measures. Ury reminds his readers that the current hotline (actually a teletype, not telephone, system) came about through public pressure.

What is the political role of crisis prevention in the new era of U.S.–Soviet diplomacy? In a telephone interview Ury recalled a speech by Konstantin Chernenko last spring, in which the Soviet premier laid out some general principles for arms control. First among these principles, Ury points out, was that crisis prevention measures must be improved. Ury feels that with the current improvement in relations "it would be helpful if Americans now showed interest in following that principle." Such low-cost, high-benefit steps, in Ury's view, are crucial sweeteners in the courtship that must take place before either side is willing to take serious risks at the bargaining table. **—Corinna Gardner**

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NEW WILD CARDS ON THE TABLE

With Chips Down, Will MX Fly?

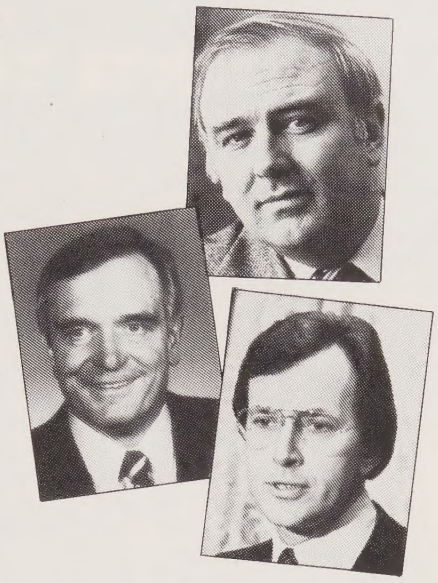
The MX missile, which should perhaps be deployed on a roller coaster for all the ups and downs it has seen, is slated to face a series of four congressional votes sometime between mid-March and early April. MX opponents only need to win one of these votes to prevent the production of the 21 missiles President Reagan requested last year. These votes, coming early in the President's second term as arm talks with the Soviets are starting, promise to provoke a frenzy on Capitol Hill, second only to the stir inspired by the federal budget.

Last year, after a protracted debate, Congress approved a compromise under which $1.5 billion for 21 new MX missiles —Congress had already approved an earlier batch of 21 missiles—could not be released until March 1, 1985, and then only after the President asks for the funds to be released. Once he does so, the Senate and the House each have to vote twice in favor of freeing the funds in order for the President to get his missiles.

And that's not all. Coming on the heels of the votes on 1985 funds will be consideration of Reagan's 1986 fiscal year request for $4.04 billion for 48 missiles.

Congressional staffers, lobbyists and pundits all tend to use the word "flux" in describing the situation. But Jay Hedlund, a lobbyist for Common Cause and a veteran of the past few go-arounds on the MX, says that "the atmosphere has changed to benefit" MX opponents. He points to the increased concern on Capitol Hill with military spending and notes that "we're seeing members who are usually described as pro-defense conservatives airing substantive criticisms of the MX and saying, for example, they're concerned about its vulnerability." In a little noted interview in January, for example, national security advisor Robert McFarlane termed the MX a "turkey system."

Common Cause has joined with arms control and disarmament groups, religious and environmental organizations, and labor unions in continuing the same coalition that has been opposing the missile for several years now. Alerts are being sent out to the grass roots, telephone trees revived, mail campaigns initiated, and meetings scheduled with members of Congress—all the nuts and bolts of lobbying that have been used in the past. "Our goal," says Richard Mark, executive director of the Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control, "is to make it clear to members—especially new members—that the intensity hasn't lessened any on this issue since last year." In other words: keep the heat on.



MX-ing it up again: Chiles, Aspin and AuCoin (clockwise from left)

BODY HEAT

The decision on 1985 production money could swing on the basis of only one or two votes. SANE, a member of the anti-MX coalition, has put together a swing list of 50 to 60 House members. MX opponents have also put considerable energy into winning over some of the new members of the House, enlisting ex-CIA director William Colby to visit many of them personally.

Take Representative John Miller, a Republican newcomer from a district in Washington that borders Seattle on the north, for example. During his campaign, Miller said he opposed the MX missile because it is "too many bucks for too little bang." But shortly after arriving in Washington, D.C., he met with Mike Mawby of SANE and declined to make a firm commitment on the MX. "He seemed marginally persuaded by the bargaining chip argument," says Mawby, referring to the contention that the MX is needed by U.S. arms negotiators in Geneva in order to win Soviet concessions. Yet several days after this meeting, a spokesperson for Miller said that the Representative would vote against the missile. "Because he is a freshman Republican the White House will be all over him," says Mawby. "He will be right in the middle right up to the day of the vote."

The freshmen may be important, but not as important as some of the key veterans—particularly Representative Les Aspin and Senator Lawton Chiles. In the past two years Aspin, who engineered the compromise that saved the MX in 1983, has done more to confound MX opponents than anyone else (including Ronald Reagan). With his most recent promotion to the chair of the Armed Services Committee Aspin is now even more visible, and many members are again expected to take their lead from him. In one January speech, Aspin slyly hinted that now the MX may not be as good a bargaining chip as he once argued it was. The threat to build "defensive systems around" U.S. missiles, he suggested, might serve as a better bargaining chip.

Does that mean a switch is forthcoming from Aspin? Several House aides note that Aspin, in supporting the missile as part of an overall approach to arms control, has always left himself room to maneuver. And there were press accounts and rumors that Aspin made a deal with some House Democrats to either oppose the missile or reduce his support for it in return for their backing his bid for the chairmanship of the committee. But no one on the anti-MX side is counting on Aspin's vote.

As for other players in the House, the anti-MX banner is again being carried by Representatives Les AuCoin, Nicholas Mavroules and Thomas Downey. "We need all the help we can get," says Bob Sherman, an aide to AuCoin and Downey. MX opponents in Congress and lobbyists working with them must not only maintain the support they generated last year, they need to find a few new converts.

One swing member is Representative Steny Hoyer, Democrat of Maryland. Last year, he joined with the anti-MX forces, but after voting against the missile, he told anti-MX lobbyists as he walked off the House floor, "Don't read too much into this." A spokeswoman for Hoyer says, "That statement is [still] pretty accurate," and adds that Hoyer is

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waiting before making up his mind. "He might be swayed by a bargaining chip argument," she says. But she admits there are a lot of factors—some of which could convince Hoyer to continue to oppose the missile. Even Representative Norman Dicks, Democrat of Washington, who is reported to be leaning toward maintaining his commitment to the MX, has asked an aide to put together a series of options that run the gamut. "I could imagine circumstances leading to both his support and opposition of the missile," the Dicks aide says.

In the Senate, Chiles, the ranking Democrat on the Budget Committee, is again expected to lead the opposition. But at the start of the session, he was "keeping his cards to himself on how he will play the MX," according to one Senate staff aide. The aide reported that Chiles had not even informed his own staff of the strategy he planned to adopt, though he had not "changed his mind regarding the viability of the system." Another key Senate player is Sam Nunn, who is the ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Committee, and carries great influence on military matters. In January Nunn said his support for the MX "is getting very, very thin."

Two conservative Republican senators —Steven Symms and John East—won some headlines in December when they threatened to vote against the MX if Ronald Reagan continued to adhere to SALT II limitations, which he has indicated he will. But this really appears to be a bluff. A Symms aide stresses that in the letter sent to the President the two said they *may* vote against the missile. "There was a need to get his attention," he told NUCLEAR TIMES.

MX opponents in the Senate, who last year lost a squeaker on a measure to block production funds (Vice President Bush had to break a 48-48 tie), this year welcome Paul Simon and Tom Harkin to their ranks. Also new to the Senate is Albert Gore Jr., a former House member who worked with Aspin and Dicks to manufacture the 1983 MX-saving compromise, and he remains bound to the 1983 agreement, so long as Reagan "continues serious" arms negotiations.

CHIPS AHOY

An early head-count calculated by anti-MX lobbyists shows a 51-49 alignment against the MX in the Senate. But nothing's to be taken for granted. The administration has already begun to lean heavily on both chambers with a bargaining chip argument. "Many members won't buy it," says Bob Sherman, "but will half-a-dozen buy it? That remains the question." An aide to an anti-MX senator notes that the administration could be "reasonably effective with members in arguing a bargaining chip," especially if there are favorable reports from Geneva. Some senators, he adds, will counter with the observation that the Soviets only came back to the table *after* Congress suspended production funds last year.

What's working in favor of an anti-MX vote are two prime characteristics of the missile—high vulnerability and high cost. Further buttressing the arguments of MX detractors is the state of the federal budget.

The 1985 set of votes, though, will only take place if Reagan submits his request for the release of the funds. As Christopher Paine, senior policy analyst for Physicians for Social Responsibility, notes, "No one is anxious for the March vote, and it is in Reagan's interest to postpone the vote and work a compromise." This compromise might be merely continuing the delay in releasing any additional production funds for the missile, while keeping the production line ready. "I have a sense that members are sick of partisanship on this issue," says Paine. "They want to have some cooperation with the Administration."

But if the votes go ahead, what will be their influence on Reagan's 1986 budget request? Some MX opponents note that if Congress approves the release of the 1985 funds, it will be extremely hard to stop the 1986 production funds, though the loose consensus on Capitol Hill is that Reagan will not get all the missiles he is asking for in any case. They also maintain that halting 1985 funds could actually seal the missile's fate.

But never underestimate the ability of Congress to compromise. "Congress never ends anything," says one Senate aide. "If the vote goes against the 1985 MX funds, some compromise will be offered to allow members to go on record to say this is not really a kill. There's a hard-core MX following and a hard-core MX opposition, and they'd both like to portray these votes as the final confrontation. But most members are in the middle, and they don't want one vote to decide this thing." There is also concern among some members that Reagan might be able to hold them politically responsible for a lack of progress in the arms talks if there is an outright defeat of the missile.

Nevertheless, MX opponents are proceeding as if the entire mortgage is riding on the votes on the 1985 funds. So lobbying and grass-roots activity have been geared up. "If we knock it out of the box in March," says Hedlund, "we must make sure to nail the coffin shut and then sit on the lid so that it doesn't again rise from the dead."

—David Corn

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SPACE AT A PREMIUM

Star Wars Battle Begins

Space: the final frontier. That was the beginning of the popular television show *Star Trek*, a series that reflected the hope and glory of the Camelot days of the U.S. space program. But just as with "Atoms for Peace," America's postwar romance with space has turned sour. We now face the possibility of an outer space cluttered with U.S. and Soviet anti-satellite weapons (ASAT s), and a "Star Wars" system of orbiting energy weapons designed to zap ballistic missiles. The desirability and purpose of both will be the subject of heated debate this year not only in arms talks with the Soviets, but on Capitol Hill.

Since President Reagan's March 23, 1983 "Star Wars" speech the Administration has backed down from the idea that the Strategic Defense Initiative is a system that could destroy all incoming warheads and replace deterrence, suggesting instead that it is a research and development program, or a missile defense system that would enhance deterrence. "There is something [in SDI] for everybody," said Les Aspin, the House Armed Services Committee chairman in a mid-January speech, charging that the Administration has been deliberately ambiguous. "Congress is going to need some answers" to questions about the defense initiative before it supports the Administration, he said. Two of the questions Aspin wants answered are: What exactly *is* SDI? And has the Administration thought through what it is doing to deterrence?

Aspin will get some answers on March 15 when the Pentagon is required to submit a report detailing how SDI funds are being spent in 30 different project areas. This will probably mark the beginning of a major policy debate on what SDI is and ought to be.

The March 15 report will help opponents of heavy SDI funding, says a senior Senate staffer. "We want to use the menu laid out by the Administration to take whacks at certain programs, particularly prototype testing and other violations of the ABM treaty," he says, adding that the better defined the program becomes, the easier it will be to attack.

A major legislative measure, the Omnibus Space Weapons Resolution, would mandate continued observance of the ABM treaty. In addition, the resolution calls for a treaty with the Soviets on space weapons and for a continuation of the ASAT moratorium. It has been presented in the form of a Joint Resolution, which would be binding if passed. But lobbyists stress that changing law is not the only reason for the resolution. "We want it to lead to a policy debate on space weapons as a whole on the floor of Congress," says Mary Brooks, a League of Women Voters lobbyist.

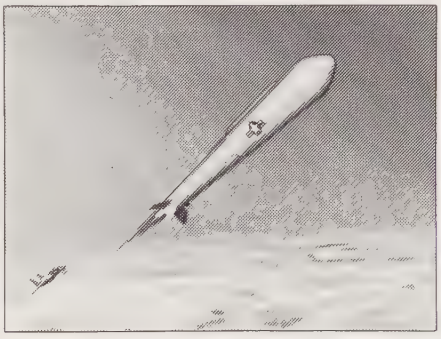
To stay the course the Administration is requesting a major increase in the SDI budget. It is requesting $3.7 billion, more than doubling the current $1.4 billion level, and $8.6 billion by 1990. But a broad coalition of more than 15 antinuclear and "liberal" lobbyists and congressional aides who make up the Space Weapons Working Group will be fighting that budget tooth and nail. The group has tripled in size in the past year, with such groups as SANE and Common Cause and the Freeze Campaign joining the fight.

Some lobbyists, like John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists, are fairly confident that Congress will refuse to significantly increase SDI funding. "I think we can keep it in the one billion range," Pike says, pointing to the intense deficit-cutting pressures on Congress, and the lack of enthusiasm members of Congress have displayed for SDI.

SDI is the only strategic program the Administration has developed, but despite the fact that the program "sprung full blown from the Gipper himself," as Pike puts it, support on the Hill has been limited. One reason is that SDI was originally proposed as a replacement for deterrence, something few members of Congress are anxious to replace. SDI in part "grew out of the same frustration with deterrence that created the freeze movement," says Wendy Silverman of Physicians for Social Responsibility. She cautions that "we must not put ourselves in a position of supporting mutual assured destruction" while attacking SDI.

"Star Wars says that a political solution to the arms race, like the freeze, is impossible," adds freeze lobbyist Pat Harman. "That makes it more essential for us to show that the freeze can work."

Feasibility is SDI's weak point, says Silverman. And the difficulties inherent in any kind of "umbrella" defense are leading moderates towards advocating a more limited, ballistic missile defense. "This change is a victory for the antinuclear community," says Pike. "If we end up talking about conventional site defense, then we are dealing with *Return of the Jedi*, not *Star Wars*, and we have to at least recognize that 'Star Wars' is dead," Pike says.



Pike of FAS (l.), PSR's Silverman and ASAT weapon: The sky's the limit

ASAT DOWN

Because of the moratorium Congress passed last year, no ASAT testing is permitted until at least March 1. And testing will only be permitted afterward if the President certifies that certain conditions—such as an attempt at negotiating an ASAT treaty and national security needs—have been met. Whether, or when, the President will make such a certification is unknown. There are rumors on the Hill that, in order to make a showing of good faith during the negotiations, or perhaps because of technical problems, the President will not issue a certification until mid-summer.

If he does certify the need for more ASAT testing, last year's compromise bill permits three tests during the rest of FY 85. "It will be very difficult to get Congress to continue the moratorium if the President wants to start testing," says Mary Brooks, adding, "at this point the ASAT ball is very much in the President's court."

Others are more optimistic. "It makes sense not to test while we're negotiating," says John Pike, "and there is a lot of support in Congress for that idea." Pike adds that there is no pressing need for tests since, "after all, we've had a moratorium for five months and the Republic is still standing." **—Douglas Lavin**

ILLUSTRATION COURTESY LTV CORPORATION

COALITION GEARS UP

April March May Blossom

Finally clear of post-election burnout, the broad-based coalition behind the April mobilization is making an all-out effort—and hoping it's not too late. An office, with full-time staff, is operating in Washington, D.C. Diverse groups in Boston, New York City, Chicago and other cities have spread the word and are reserving buses to transport demonstrators to the nation's capital. And four-day coordinated mass actions—calling for no intervention, jobs, cuts in the military budget, a reversal of the arms race and an end to apartheid—are planned in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle as well.

The nationwide mobilization, dubbed "4 Days in April," will begin in Washington, D.C. on April 19 with educational and cultural events and run through April 22. While a mass rally and march scheduled for April 20 is expected to be the big draw, organizers are stressing the importance of the lobbying and civil disobedience activities scheduled for Monday, April 22. Activists from SANE, the Freeze Campaign and other groups will descend on the offices of congressional swing voters on the MX and a comprehensive freeze bill. Other groups will be making nonviolent civil disobedience a priority. Tentative plans call either for a mass demonstration on Monday at the White House, or more disruptive, simultaneous actions occurring all over Washington.

Chances are that Saturday's demonstration will not be a typical one. Susan Pines, a staff member of the War Resisters League, reports that there is a strong desire to "be as untraditional as possible." Some suggestions: form a human chain between the Pentagon, the White House, and the South African Mission, or create a Festival of Protest with a myriad of participatory cultural and political events. "We want to make this meaningful in a way that most demonstrations aren't," says Pines. "We don't want a long rally with 30 speakers. We don't want people to come all the way to Washington and simply be talked to."

Beyond that, organizers hope that the mobilization will serve as a kick-off event for a lasting, national coalition of the more than 50 religious, antinuclear, black, labor and other progressive groups involved in the project: something that previous marches have often promised but failed to deliver. "We want people to leave with more information, more interest in other issues, more tools for

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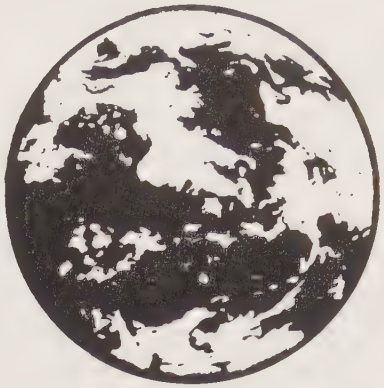

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action," says Damu Smith, a coordinator of the coalition's April Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice office in Washington. For example, three-quarters of Friday's activities may be devoted to a working conference on organizers' experiences at the local level—what works and what doesn't. And steering committee members say that perhaps participants in April's mobilization will be told to begin preparing for widespread, decentralized actions this fall.

Lurking behind all of these strategies —and what may, in part, account for their slow development—is a lot of questioning of the April mobilization's timeliness and need. For months, many national leaders, and members of some local chapters of the Freeze Campaign, Mobilization for Survival and other groups have been reluctant to strongly support the mobilization in Washington, saying that the action is disruptive and drains energy and resources from important work at home. For these reasons, the national office of the American Friends Service Committee decided not to sponsor or endorse the event. "This doesn't mean we're against it," says Carlie Numi, assistant to the group's peace secretary in Philadelphia. "But something like this requires a major expenditure of money and staff time. We called all our regional offices and found that people want to stay focused on local communities. We just couldn't put our souls into it."

But, according to Damu Smith and others in the April coalition, enthusiasm is picking up considerably now that a national office has been set up and staff people hired to deal with the enormous tasks of outreach and fundraising. (David Cortright, SANE's executive director, and a member of the coalition's finance committee, estimates that the project needs a quarter of a million dollars in seed money.) Smith reports that many local groups are calling for information, which bolsters the coalition's growing—but still guarded—optimism.

"I'd hate to think that so many national groups are so way off in their thinking and analysis of what's important," says Susan Pines, pointing out that the April action was originally conceived to fall on the heels of Ronald Reagan's second inauguration. "Nothing has changed," Pines says. "The urgency is still there."

—Renata Rizzo

Wrap-Up

Representatives Berkley Bedell and Jim Leach are introducing a resolution in the House similar to last year's Senate-passed measure which calls on the President to submit two nuclear testing treaties for Senate ratification and to restart **CTBT negotiations** . . . . A Center for Defense Information conference on CTBT in New York on January 30 attracted reps from 32 United Nations missions and 80 national groups. The Soviet Union sent a message supporting a CTBT, the United States one opposing it . . . . **INFACT**, the organization based in Minneapolis which successfully took on Nestle in the infant formula dispute, has opened a campaign on the abuses of transnational corporations producing nuclear weapons. Its initial targets are 13 major contractors on the MX, including GE, GTE Sylvania and Boeing . . . . The city of **Takoma Park, Maryland**, the first to say it would do no business with firms that do nuclear weapons work, has reversed itself, with a 5-2 vote by its City Council on January 28. Many residents, and Mayor Sam Abbott, denounced the council members' view that while the ban was not unworkable it was just too big a hassle . . . . According to the **Union of Concerned Scientists**, a Ballistic Missile Defense that stops 90 percent of Soviet warheads from striking U.S. cities would still leave 90 million dead, instantly. A 95 percent success rate would yield 60 million deaths and 98 percent would still mean 40 million dead . . . . 28 were arrested in Groton, Connecticut last month protesting the christening of the seventh Trident, the **USS Alaska**, the submarine which later this year may force the United States over SALT II limits . . . . Representatives from **United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War** are trying to work out a plan with the Student Council of the USSR on a joint curriculum-writing project for university courses.

CONTINENTAL DRIFT

Talking Heads Take Initiative

"We . . . call for the prohibition of the development, testing, production, deployment and use of all space weapons. . . . We further urge the nuclear weapons states to immediately halt the testing of all kinds of nuclear weapons." A peace group? A bill in Congress? No, the above call is from a joint statement by the leaders of Argentina, India, Mexico, Greece, Sweden and Tanzania who met in New Delhi on January 28 as part of the Five Continent Peace Initiative. The leaders had released a statement in May 1984, urging the five nuclear powers to "halt all testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems" but had never met together. By the conclusion of the New Delhi summit "a team had been forged," says Aaron Tovish, a coordinator at Parliamentarians for World Order (PWO), an international organization of elected members of government based in New York City.

(l. to r.) Argentina's Alfonsin, Sweden's Palme, Tanzania's Nyerere, India's Vice President Venkataraman and Gandhi

PHOTO BY ASSOCIATED PRESS

On January 31, four of the leaders—Raul Alfonsin, Andreas Papandreou, Olof Palme and Julius Nyerere—presented the group's ideas to about 45 individuals in Athens, Greece, including Giorgi Arbatov, director of the Institute of USA and Canada Studies in the Soviet Union and Bruce Kent of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Great Britain. American peace groups were represented by Jane Gruenebaum, acting director of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and Christopher Paine, senior policy analyst of Physicians for Social Responsibility, among others. "The role of peace groups is mainly to publicize the Initiative and encourage the leaders to do more," says Paine, a member of a steering committee for the Initiative that keeps the six leaders abreast of anti-nuclear sentiment and provides a network for disseminating information. The Council for a Livable World (CLW), has offered to produce and distribute a free booklet on the Initiative and to organize a conference in Washington, D.C., featuring several of the heads of state.

In Congress, Representative Thomas Downey, a vice president of PWO, has been the leading supporter of the Initiative. Downey attended the meetings in New Delhi and Athens. Although no legislation is pending on the Initiative, Downey told NUCLEAR TIMES, 119 representatives signed a letter in support of the effort that was sent to President Reagan after the May 1984 announcement. Downey cited three reasons why the Initiative is important: The leaders can act as intermediaries between the superpowers; their actions may have weight in "the world court of opinion"; and they can exploit their wide bases of power in the Third World and among

non-aligned nations.

The January summit, says Tovish, left some "very interesting ideas" on the table, including one in which the leaders would urge multilateral negotiations if the negotiations in Geneva are not productive. But the leaders need widespread support, first, says Tovish, adding, "They don't want to stick their neck out so far the superpowers can chop it off."

—Alex Miller

NO EXIT?

Activists Jailed Indefinitely

Few people would expect to face a life sentence for engaging in civil disobedience. But that is—in effect—what has happened to protesters arrested at the Williams International plant in Walled

Can't kill the spirit: Williams opponents

Lake, Michigan, where cruise missile engines are manufactured. Charged by Oakland County Circuit Court Judge Francis X. O'Brien with civil contempt for blocking the entrance to the plant, the 13 activists were sentenced to indefinite incarceration—or open-ended donation of labor to the Salvation Army—until they promise never to return to Williams and engage in acts of civil disobedience.

Seven of the protesters are appealing the case on the grounds that the charge should have simply been criminal contempt (which carries a maximum sentence of 30 days) and are currently out of jail, and one has opted to work at the Salvation Army 40 hours a week. The remaining five, who are refusing to appeal, are staying in prison to "call attention to the injustice of the arms race, as opposed to the injustice of their sentence," according to Buzz Alexander, a member of the Ann Arbor Peace Community.

In an interview from the Shiawasee County Jail in Corunna, Michigan, in late January on his 52nd day of incarceration, Brian Larkin (on leave as canvass director for SANE in Ann Arbor) talked about this country's "legalized" arms race. "While the court might be cooperating

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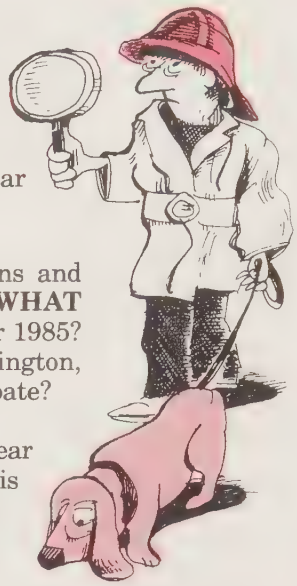

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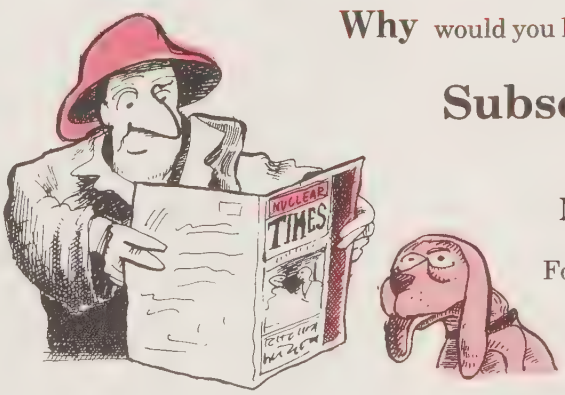

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with Williams, we're not willing to cooperate with the court through the legal language of an appeal," Larkin said.

All 13 resisters have applied to Amnesty International for status as prisoners of conscience, or political prisoners. In a press conference, attorney William Goodman stated that "the protesters' objection is not that they were sent to jail for committing civil disobedience, but that they are being punished for their belief in civil disobedience. They understand and accept the fact that when they break the law they have to go to jail. But to be held in jail indefinitely until they agree not to practice their beliefs again is another matter."

At the heart of the case lies an injunction, issued last June, which bans protest and trespass at Williams. Oakland county Judge James Thorburn, who issued the injunction, has created a local controversy by publicly red-baiting the peace community. In the *Detroit Free Press* last November, the judge stated that "out of a crowd of 25, you might find 20 who are agents of somebody and not really interested in the nuclear war issue." Antinuclear activists believe that the indefinite jail sentences are part of a larger attempt by Williams International and the Oakland County court system to intimidate Michigan protesters.

In early January, five prominent Michigan religious leaders, including Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, came to the activists' defense and wrote to Judge O'Brien, "Human beings have a right and obligation to act according to their conscience in matters of social justice." Members of the Ann Arbor Peace Community have presented the judge with a petition, bearing 1500 signatures, urging him to reconsider his sentence. They are also asking the governor and Michigan Representative George Crockett to appeal to the judge.

The 13 resisters, who include six students, two farmers, two community workers, a nurse, a teacher, and a retired Methodist minister, and who range in age from 18 to 77, were taking part in the ongoing "Call to Conversion" that has drawn hundreds of antinuclear protesters to Williams over the past two years, resulting in numerous conspiracy charges and two previous cases of indefinite incarceration. Area activists assert, however, that their escalating struggle with the Oakland County legal system will not keep them away from Williams. "There are definitely plans for future actions," Brian Larkin says from behind bars. "We want to make it clear that intimidation will not kill the spirit of resistance."

—Renata Rizzo and Patrick Crawford

ETHICAL PRINCIPALS

Investing For A Future

Investment patterns have always reflected expectations for the future. A recent financial column in *The New York Times* reported one stockbroker's promising picks for 1985: Boeing, Emerson Electric, and Signal, all top military contractors for nuclear weaponry. If that's not your idea of a future, you can "vote with your money" for a better one. Growing numbers of people concerned with social and moral issues are discovering that ethical investing can keep both their principles and their principal intact. Investment portfolios could become the new nuclear free zones.

"I think all along there's been a strong underbase of people who wanted a means of practicing what they preach," says Amy Domini, author of the recently published book *Ethical Investing*, and an investment counselor for Moseley, Hallgarten, Estabrook, and Weeden in Cambridge, Massachusetts. "In the last 10 years people realized the possibility of actually *doing* it. Colleges, churches, and municipalities wanted to divest of South Africa and still make money—and they found they could."

Large institutions and wealthier individuals, with at least $100,000 to invest, can turn to advisors such as the U.S. Trust Company of Boston, which has been directing "ethically clean" accounts since 1975. The company screens corporations according to social criteria provided by its clients: no defense contracts, for example, or a good record on hiring minorities and women. Michael Moffitt, who specializes in socially responsible investments for Shearson/American Express, says that research on a company's ethics is "extra work, but we don't mind doing it." At Shearson, where most accounts begin with $25,000, the most often requested social screens involve defense companies and com-

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New York, NY 10103
(212) 974-3200 or (800) 223-6024

Franklin Research & Development Corporation
Joan Bavaria
222 Lewis Wharf
Boston, MA 02110 (617) 723-1670

PUBLICATIONS

Concerned Investors Guide
Resource Publishing Group
1401 Wilson Blvd, Suite 1101
Arlington, VA 22209
(703) 524-0815 $117.00 (prepaid)

Directory of Socially Responsible Investments
The Funding Exchange
135 East 15 Street
New York, NY 10003
(212) 260-8500 $5.00

Stocking the Arsenal
Investor Responsibility Research Center Inc.
1319 F Street NW, Suite 900
Washington, DC 20004
(202) 833-3727 $19.00

The Corporate Examiner
Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility
475 Riverside Drive, Room 566
New York, NY 10115
(212) 870-2936
(free sample copies available)

Guide to Socially Responsible Investments
Nuclear Free America
2521 Guildford Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21218 $2

Good Money
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Working Assets Money Fund
230 California Street
San Francisco, CA 94111
(800) 223-7010

Amy Domini and friends

panies doing business in South Africa.

For the average investor who simply wants to open an individual retirement account (IRA) or save for a child's college education, an ethical mutual fund offers a prescreened, professionally managed portfolio of stocks and other securities. (All the funds mentioned in this article can be used to set up IRAs.)

The Calvert Social Investment Fund, managed by the U.S. Trust Company, offers both a managed growth portfolio (suitable for long-term investment) and a money market portfolio (suitable for providing current income). While seeking out companies whose products "enhance the human condition," according to its prospectus, the fund avoids those that pollute, discriminate in hiring, manufacture weapons, or operate in countries with repressive regimes. In 1983 Calvert's money market portfolio was the highest-yielding in the nation, proof that nice guys don't have to finish last.

Another winner is the Pax World Fund, begun in 1970 during the Vietnam War and still scrupulously avoiding the securities of companies making weapons systems as well as those engaged in gambling, liquor, and tobacco industries. With a minimum initial investment of only $250, Pax is especially attractive to small investors; its number-one ranking in *Money* magazine's survey of balanced mutual funds (funds with both fixed-income securities and common stocks) makes it attractive to anyone. "We're proof you don't have to suffer financially to invest responsibly," says the fund's vice president, Anthony Brown.

Working Assets, the only money market fund with an investment advisor working exclusively on socially responsible investing, emphasizes job creation and work issues in its investment choices. The fund managers avoid firms that pollute the environment, manufacture weapons or generate nuclear power. The minimum initial investment is $1,000.

For those who want to do their own research, there are a wide variety of publications, clearinghouses, and organizations to help. *The Directory of Socially Responsible Investing*, prepared by the Funding Exchange and the Bread and Roses Community Fund, offers a good introduction and broad resource listing. The Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility publishes the *Corporate Examiner*, a monthly newsletter that surveys policies of major U.S. corporations. *Good Money*, a folksy bimonthly newsletter, catalogues how people and organizations are combining good works and profit. Nuclear Free America, which encourages municipalities, as well as individuals and organizations, to divest their holdings in companies which work on nuclear weapons, has published a *Guide to Socially Responsible Investments*.

A word of caution: be sure that the widely varying social criteria used by investment managers and newsletter authors are compatible with your own. *Good Money*, for example, recently recommended Black & Decker, a tool-making company, because it believes the company's products help develop self-sufficiency skills. But the company also does business in South Africa, and is not a signatory to the Sullivan Principles of nonsegregation and fair labor practices.

"I'm hopeful ethical investing will be an effective tool for social change, and not just a 'feel-good' thing to do," says Domini, who envisions establishing an Investors for Social Responsibility. "In the short term, you can feel good and be consistent with your principles. In the long term, you can make the world a better place." **—Barbara Bedway**

ON LINE

Computer Alerts Activists

After about two years of planning, the Arms Control Computer Network has finally sent out its first alert to about 46,000 key activists of seven antinuclear weapons groups. The alert was a backgrounder, informing activists of three major legislative priorities for the year—the MX missile, space weapons and a test ban. The ACCN, a sign of growing cooperation among the major Washington-D.C.-based organizations, promises to decrease the time it takes these groups to get alerts to their prime activists. Ed Glennon of SANE (one of the participating groups) expects that full scale alerts will be issued at the time of authorization, appropriation and other key votes.

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BY GORDON ADAMS

One "Freeze" We Can Win Now

(continued from front cover)

Since FY (fiscal year) 1980, the last full year of the Carter Administration, Defense Department (DoD) budget authority has doubled, rising from $140.7 billion to $284.7 billion in FY 1985. For FY 1986, the Defense Department has announced they intend to seek $313.7 billion in budget authority, an increase of another 5.9 percent after inflation.

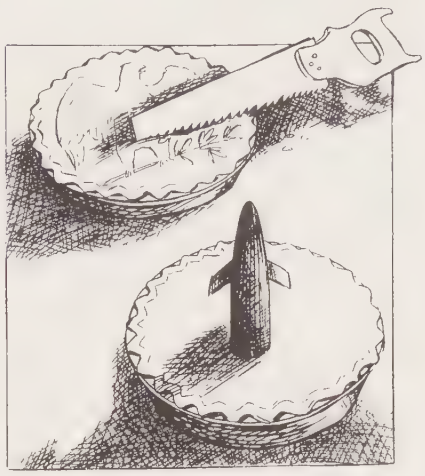
Such growth in military spending is without precedent, in peace or war, since the end of World War II. In fact, if President Reagan's plans for FY 1986 are enacted, military spending will reach a higher level, in constant dollars, than any year since 1946. President Reagan's 1981 intention of increasing military spending has clearly succeeded beyond his wildest dreams. Through FY 1984 Congress has funded military budgets totalling 97.5 percent of the original Pentagon spending goals laid out in the Administration's first five-year defense plan.

It is important to keep this success story in mind as one reads of plans to "cut" and "freeze" military spending. When is a cut not a cut? When is a freeze not a freeze? When it applies to military spending. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger still says his FY 1986 budget will "cut" $8.7 billion out of military outlays. Yet, if Congress accepts his request, real military spending will grow $31 billion between FY 1985 and FY 1986.

This apparent contradiction is not hard to explain, since Weinberger's "cuts" are really just reduced expectations. The Defense Department hoped to increase its outlays by $40 billion in FY 1986. Now Weinberger is willing to settle for somewhat slower growth.

Senate Republicans have talked of "freezing" military spending. Yet, even if one froze the military budget at the same level of budget authority it had in FY 1985, real spending (outlays) would still rise $20 billion over this year.

Can Congress "freeze" military spending? Thanks to a peculiarity in Defense Department spending, even the freeze proposal will leave large increases



in real military spending. What Congress wants to freeze is "budget authority" for the DoD. This is money the Department *starts* spending in FY 1986. But because weapons take more than one year to build, not all of it *will* be spent in FY 1986. The same process took place in previous years, meaning a significant share of FY 1986 outlays (money the department will actually spend in just that year) grow out of past budget authority. This means that even if budget authority is "frozen" in FY 1986, outlays will continue to grow.

In other words, by pushing up budget authority for DoD since 1981, the Administration has begun to "lock in" a substantial part of the military budget spending. It is getting harder and harder for Congress and the American people to get a handle on runaway Pentagon spending. As a testimonial to this fact, the Pentagon's backlog (already appropriated funds which are still to be spent, largely on existing weapons contracts) has risen dramatically from $92 billion in FY 1980 to nearly $280 billion in FY 1986.

At the heart of runaway military spending is the Administration's weapons buildup. Office of Management and Budget (OMB) data on major DoD purchases confirms this fact (see box below).

No other part of military spending has increased as rapidly. Overall the "investment" part of the defense budget (weapons procurement, research and development and military construction) has risen from 37 percent of Pentagon budget authority in FY 1980 to nearly 50 percent in FY 1986. The military budget is "weapons driven," with a large part of the expenditures coming in the future, when costs are less predictable.

The rapid growth in Pentagon funds is leaving a harsh legacy for our national security, for the economy, for our ability to meet domestic human needs and for sound management in the Pentagon. Despite this troublesome legacy from the Reagan military buildup, Congress will not have an easy time slowing military spending. Republican Majority Leader Bob Dole and Budget Committee Chairman Pete Domenici talked about a budget freeze in January. After new Armed Services Chair Barry Goldwater and Majority Whip Alan Simpson warned of base closings and weapons cancellations, however, talk of a Senate freeze on military spending faded. Moderate Republicans, such as Senators John Chaffee, Lowell Weicker and Charles Mathias may continue to push for such a freeze, joined by a handful of conservatives like Republican Charles Grassley of Iowa.

What is being done to get military spending back within reasonable bounds? Peace groups have become active on this issue in 1985. The MX, ASAT, Star Wars, the freeze and a comprehensive test ban remain arms control priorities, but many of these issues can be tackled through the budget. Requested budget authority in FY 1986 for MX, ASATs and Star Wars alone will come to nearly $8 billion. As Congress tackles the deficit, this spending will be a target of budget cutters and peace groups alike. More than 20 Washington-based peace organizations have begun work on a military budget strategy and will be pursuing budget reductions this spring.

This year peace groups will be joined by others concerned with the relentless growth of military spending. For example, the Washington-based Coalition on Block Grants and Human Needs (over 100 constituency organizations concerned with domestic issues) generally focuses on low-income and block grant programs. Late in 1984, however, the Coalition adopted a broader statement of principles, recognizing the need to address

	Budget Authority ($ billions)	
	FY 1980	FY 1986
Strategic Weapons	9.4	38.1
Major Conventional Weapons	14.5	33.0
Munitions/Aircraft Modifications	5.8	18.2
Support/Communications Equipment	8.5	29.7

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the military budget.

It is urgent to move on military spending *this* year. Another round of contracts and spending obligations could lock Americans into new weapons programs for years to come. Some kind of *real* freeze in military spending should be the goal.

A freeze on budget authority at FY 1985 spending levels would cut $20 billion from the FY 1986 outlays the Pentagon would like to have. Another proposed freeze—which would give the Pentagon FY 1985 spending levels plus four percent for inflation (but no "real" growth) —would reduce the Weinberger outlay desire for FY 1986 by $17 billion.

Weinberger has already proposed $8.7 billion in painless reductions. Since the Pentagon has regularly overestimated what it will actually spend, Weinberger should be able to find at least another $5 to $7 billion in excessive spending projections. Then, Congress will have to find another $3.1 to $6.5 billion from other defense programs in order to reach one of the proposed freezes. The MX missile alone would provide roughly $1.2 billion.

Congress can handle the task, provided the public is mobilized. Peace groups can play an important part, making compelling arguments to their members. Restraints on military spending would mean that the Defense Department would finally be making a real contribution to deficit reduction, especially in the next two years when the bulk of outlays on weapons will actually be spent. Restraint would also make the military budget more accountable and would encourage internal management reforms with real teeth. It would also restore some balance between draconian domestic cuts and largesse towards the Pentagon. By urging restraint on nuclear programs, the arms control community would help Congress play a constructive role with respect to the talks in Geneva. The Congress and the White House have a responsibility to work together to help the Geneva talks succeed, but a blank check for weapons is not a necessary part of that cooperation.

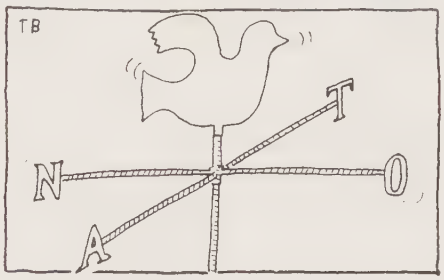
Unless Congress moves on the military spending problem now, it will become increasingly hard to do so in the future. Without a strong effort this year, Americans will face persistent pressures to increase Pentagon funding as weapons begin to cost more than predicted and as more funds are required to actually operate the flood of new equipment in the Pentagon's inventory. 1985 is clearly the year when the peace movement should join with others in calling for a real military spending freeze.

Gordon Adams is director of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities' Defense Budget Project in Washington, D.C.

Notes From Abroad

The questions about Europe's political future that are now facing the peace movement tend to converge on one crucial issue: Should peace groups advocate their country's withdrawal from NATO, or aim to press the alliance toward a non-nuclear policy from within? The debate is loudest in West Germany, Britain and Spain, where a referendum on whether to remain in the alliance (the first such referendum anywhere) will be held next year.

Those who argue for **leaving NATO** (for instance, West Germany's Green Party and some members of Britain's CND) believe that de-alignment would be a concrete step toward dissolving the bloc



system in Europe and thawing the cold war glaciers where they meet. They also see it as a prerequisite for political autonomy. And it would enable the development of an alternative, non-nuclear, defensive security system for Europe, an impossible pipe dream while the continent remains under the strategic thumb of the United States.

Those who urge **remaining in the alliance** do so for two main reasons. Dissolving the blocs, they argue, is not a realistic prospect at this point; the Soviet Union remains a threat and Europe, unable to defend itself alone, must remain linked to the United States. What's more, a country like Britain could contribute more to the cause of world nuclear disarmament by staying in the alliance and influencing its policies than by pulling out and going non-nuclear in isolation.

To complicate the situation, the debate over NATO is not confined to antinuclear circles. Politicians on both sides of the Atlantic have long recognized that the alliance is in a crisis. Lately, European conservatives have been discussing "Europeanization" as a possible solution. Some European governments, particularly the French and the German, have been moving tentatively toward reviving the lapsed **West European Union** (WEU), a defense community that was formed in 1954 to contain the rearmament of West Germany. The lead editorial in the latest *END* (the journal of European Nuclear Disarmament) deplores this tendency, not only because the WEU could eventually become a third military bloc, but because one of its main functions would be to foster the growth of the European arms industry. Discussions about the WEU are still in the early stages but the growing interest in the idea makes it all the more urgent for the peace movements to develop alternative foreign policy proposals.

• The situation in **Belgium** is a good example of how membership in NATO can cramp a country's democratic style. Like the Netherlands a few months ago, Belgium is under strong pressure from the Reagan Administration to accept 48 cruise missiles on schedule, whatever the fallout for the country's parliamentary process. If the coalition government of Prime Minister Wilfried Martens falls, the opinion polls indicate a likely victory for the opposition coalition led by the Flemish Socialist Party, which opposes cruise altogether.

• Six members of the **Turkish Peace Association** (TPA), including the group's president, former ambassador Mahmut Dikerdem, have been released from prison on Turkey's equivalent of bail, perhaps as the result of international pressure. The TPA leaders, however, still face retrial by the Military Appeal Court in a few months. Meanwhile, another 48 founding members of the TPA have been indicted on the same charges of "conspiracy" and "sedition," simply for calling for disarmament and criticizing U.S. bases in Turkey. Like the 23 original TPA defendants, the 48 are a distinguished group of liberal politicians, artists and intellectuals, and number among them most of the TPA's defense lawyers.

• An international campaign for a **comprehensive test ban** has been launched by a coalition of over 100 groups around the world, including the Center for Defense Information (CDI), The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Greenpeace, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Tokyo's Niwano Peace Foundation and the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council. The coalition has launched a petition drive in more than 18 countries, set dates for local and international actions (March 1, August 6 and September 1, the opening of the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in Geneva) and established a worldwide information clearinghouse under the auspices of CDI in Washington, D.C.

• **New Zealand's** refusal to allow a visit by a U.S. nuclear ship may have far-reaching repercussions in Japan, Australia and Europe. **—Maria Margaronis**

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM

Ideas That Work

Nothing is more frustrating than trying to track down a peace group only to have some infuriatingly pleasant voice inform you, "I'm sorry. We have no listing for that organization." Well, activists in Los Angeles are off the hook, thanks to the *L.A. Peace Directory*, an attractive booklet which lists over 100 area groups.

This is an idea that activists in any city could easily pull off, if they're willing to volunteer some time (about six months, according to organizer Michael Barb, who adds that you only need a loyal core of about 10 people working part-time). The L.A. group includes a couple of clinical psychologists, journalists, a librarian, and some "basic activists," who came together from several peace and disarmament groups in the area.

"There are so many groups in Los Angeles, we wanted to be sure that people looking to get involved could find one to suit them," Barb says. "And it's also a great tool for networking within the peace community."

The 10 activists compiled the list of groups by putting their heads together and using contacts in the field. They then sent out questionnaires to each group, covering the obvious vital statistics (address, phone number, contact person), less obvious ones (how many members? any dues? publications?) and a brief statement of purpose. Everything was entered into a computer, a data base was formed (for easy updates and changes) and a publicity campaign—resulting in a couple of radio spots and a mention in the *Los Angeles Times*—was waged.

Since August, 1500 of the guides have been sold (out of an initial run of 2000) at $2, just enough to cover production costs. The project is already running in the black; it cost roughly $2500, most of which was donated by peace groups and activists.

"The only thing we'd do differently next time is to describe more of the nitty-gritty of what groups have actually *done*," says Barb. "The format of our questionnaire forced groups into describing themselves a certain way, and after a while they all began to sound alike." Work on a second edition, fueled by profits from the first, is scheduled to start in May.

For pointers on compiling a directory for your city, contact the L.A. Peace Directory, 1452 Sixth St, Suite 203, Santa Monica, CA 90401. Copies of the guide can be ordered from the same address for $2 plus .75 postage.

* * *

Talk about low-tech: All you need is four people, some cash (which doesn't get spent) and a few jars for this idea.

Following in the hallowed tradition of a medieval morality play, one person, wearing a medical coat, represents Human Services. A second, in an eyeshade, is the National Deficit. Military Services wears fatigues. All three hold gallon jars.

The fourth participant in this street exhibit holds a wad of one dollar bills and entices pedestrians to stop and place a

bill in their favorite tax-dollar jar. The results when this was tried in Kansas City, Missouri: Out of $165, $12 went to the military, $53 towards reducing the deficit, and $104 to human services. The group came away with a few dollars in donations, and members report that just one woman ran off with a dollar. (New Yorkers might think twice before trying this game.)

"It was great," reports Kansas City Nuclear Weapons Freeze Coalition member Lynn Cheatum. "Thrusting a dollar bill into someone's hand really gets their attention." And while some people refused to have anything to do with the whole affair, many stopped long enough to collect a brochure detailing alarming statistics on the military budget and our tax dollars.

One strong recommendation from the Missouri organizers: Try to get a local television crew to cover the proceedings. They called three stations beforehand, and one showed up. "As soon as the TV cameras came, people flocked over to us," says Charles Bebb, a member of the Coalition. "It signalled that something legitimate was going on. Otherwise people might've thought we were a bunch of nuts."

Try doing the jar show on a weekend, when television crews are less likely to be out covering "hard" news. For more information on this remarkably easy project for small groups, contact the Kansas City Nuclear Weapons Freeze Coalition, 4500 Warwick Blvd, Kansas City, MO 64111 (816) 561-1181.

—Renata Rizzo

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM

ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

Resources

URANIUM

Weapons Implications of U.S.-South African Uranium Trade. At a time of rising protests against U.S. support for the apartheid regime comes this new report by the Nuclear Control Institute on the links between nuclear weapons and nuclear power industries in America and South Africa. The report reveals that half of the foreign uranium used in the United States comes from South Africa and Namibia—a fivefold increase since President Reagan took office. As a result, the report states, "a potentially large number" of Americans "are subsidizing Pretoria's atom bomb efforts and supporting South Africa's occupation of Namibia," simply by paying their monthly utility bills. (Copies available for $10, or $2 for individuals and non-profit groups, from Nuclear Control Institute, 1000 Connecticut Ave NW, Suite 406, Washington, DC 20036.)

Black Waters, produced by Talli Nauman. The producer, who grew up in the Black Hills of South Dakota, designated as a "national sacrifice area" by the Federal government, reviews the history of 20 years of uranium mining there, and the resulting environmental damage. The film focuses on Marvin Kammerer, a rancher living next to the Ellsworth Air Force Base (a SAC base), who forms an alliance of white ranchers, native Americans, and environmentalists opposed to Union Carbide's plans to resume mining. Father of seven, Kammerer says that if his children and grandchildren don't have clean air and water, "I've failed." (28 minutes, 16mm color, $45 rental from Green Mountain Post Films, PO Box 229, Turners Falls, MA 01376 413-863-4754 or 8248.)

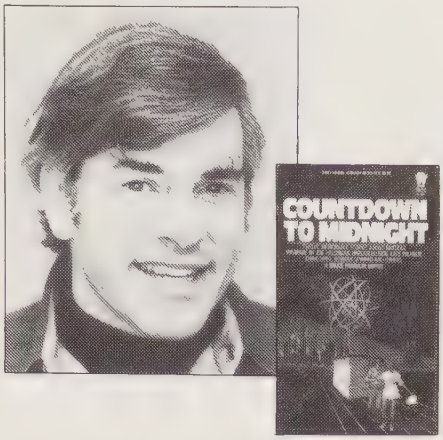
No to Uranium Mining: Devastation of the People and Land in Northern Saskatchewan, produced by the Uranium Traffic Network. This slide program (150 slides and 2 cassette tapes, lists of resources, and a backgrounder, "Uranium Traffic in Saskatchewan") documents what happens in another "national sacrifice area," almost the whole northern half of the Canadian province of Saskatchewan. The program describes Uranium City, where many roads and buildings, including the high school, are built on uranium tailings. In some areas, thanks to tailings dumped into the rivers, the fish are blinded, or "contain so much radiation that they present a health hazard if eaten regularly." As for clean up, "it would take an effort on the scale of the space program to return all the contaminated areas in Northern Saskatchewan back to

their natural state." The program also briefly describes similar effects of uranium mining in New Mexico and Australia. Good supplemental reading is a special report prepared by the Network, "Uranium Bullets," which outlines the non-nuclear military uses of uranium. (To rent the slide show or buy the special report, contact The Edmonton Learner Centre, 10765-98 St , Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T5H 2P2.)

REPORTS

Proceedings: The International Economic Conversion Conference. The program and summary of this important symposium, which took place last June in Boston, is now available. The conference attracted 750 trade unionists, peace and church activists from the United States and Europe, and was the first major attempt to initiate conversion on the local level, at the individual plant, and to help workers recognize that "disarmament will not jeopardize jobs but will provide greater prosperity and opportunity." ($5 from IECC, 45 Pine St, Arlington, MA 02174.)

Nuclear Arms Control: Background and Issues, by the Committee on International Security and Arms Control of the National Academy of Sciences. The committee has put together a careful, even-handed history of the last 30 years of arms negotiations, covering the SALT and INF talks, and freeze, antisatellite, test ban, and nonproliferation proposals. It lays out the sequence of events and basic objectives clearly enough, but does not always illuminate the political context of arms talks. The chapter on nonproliferation is excellent. ($16.50 paperback from the National Academy Press, 2101 Constitution Ave NW, Washington, DC 20418.)



Editor Bruce Franklin and book: Doomsday sampler

The Verification of Compliance With Arms Control Agreements. This briefing paper, prepared by the Union of Concerned Scientists, points out that "verification is a political process, not simply a matter of obtaining the most detailed technical information possible." Since most arms agreements are ambiguously worded, there is "a great deal of room for political posturing about 'violations,' and ascertaining compliance becomes a matter of political judgment as well as the routine technical monitoring of military activities." The paper reviews what can be detected, and the technical and cooperative means of detection we have available. (Up to 25 copies free from Union of Concerned Scientists, 26 Church St, Cambridge, MA 02238.)

The Effects on the Atmosphere of a Major Nuclear Exchange, by the National Research Council. This long-awaited 208-page report on "nuclear winter" stresses the uncertainties but generally supports the earlier, extremely grave findings by Carl Sagan, *et al.* And it predicts that a nuclear war would lead to depletion of the ozone layer, allowing up to one-and-one-half times the normal amount of harmful ultraviolet light to reach the earth. ($14.50 from the National Academy Press, 2101 Constitution Ave NW, Washington, DC 20418.)

GUIDES

Editing Your Newsletter: A Guide to Writing, Design, and Production, by Mark Beach. A clear, extremely informative guide to every aspect of starting and producing your own newsletter. It covers dealing with reporters and printers, the copyright laws, design, appropriate language and much, much more. ($9.95 plus $1.50 shipping and postage from Coast to Coast Books, 2934 NE 16 Ave, Portland, OR 97212.)

NUCLEAR CULTURE

Countdown to Midnight, edited by H. Bruce Franklin. A collection of 12 stories about nuclear doomsday by distinguished science fiction writers, including Theodore Sturgeon, Harlan Ellison, Norman Spinrad and Kate Wilhelm. Franklin's illuminating introduction points out that the ever-prescient science fiction writer H.G. Wells, in his story *The World Set Free* (1914), was the first to describe atomic weapons and coin the phrase, "atomic bomb." ($2.95 paperback, DAW Books, 1633 Broadway, New York, NY 10019.)

Against the State of Nuclear Terror, by Joel Kovel. A psychiatrist and psychoanalyst surveys the political, economic, and psychological effects of the arms race, and concludes that the state of nuclear terror in which we all live has deeply damaged the human spirit. The author examines the work of other psychiatrists in this area (John Mack, Robert Jay Lifton), and provides a radical analysis of nuclear terror's relationship to capitalism and the state ("The nuclear age is rightly considered a time of great paranoia") as well as attempts to counter the threat. An intriguing and provocative read. ($9.50 paperback, South End Press.) □

SPECIAL MENTION

No More Hibakusha! directed by Martin Duckworth, produced by the National Film Board of Canada. An extremely moving series of portraits of Japanese survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as they prepare to travel to New York City for the June 12, 1982 disarmament rally at the United Nations. One woman, who says she is 51 but who looks much older, says she still feels a survivor's guilt over "all those people who died. They were crying, 'Water! Water!' How much they suffered!" A middle-aged man describes how, the day of the bombing, he tried and failed to dig out his older sister, who was trapped in the debris of their home. "I had been involved in union and peace activities—but I was never able to say I was *hibakusha*. Although it is painful, I must speak so there will be no more *hibakusha*." (55 minutes, color 16 mm, rental $100 from Icarus Films, 200 Park Ave South, Suite 1319, New York, NY 10003 212-674-3375.)

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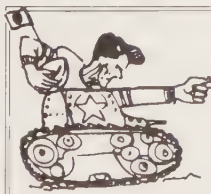

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ASSOCIATIONS

FOR PEACE, SOCIAL JUSTICE? Contact unattached likeminded, locally/nationally. **CONCERNED SINGLES,** Box 7737-(N), Berkeley, CA 94707.

Bertrand Russell Society. Information: *NT, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.*

EARTH RESCUE CORPS invites 100 volunteers, some paid, some travel worldwide. Actions for total nuclear disarmament, world disarmament agency, new world economic order, environmental repair, Provisional World Parliament, other specifics for human survival, social reconstruction. Apply to: Earth Rescue, 1480 Hoyt #31, Lakewood CO 80215.

INTERNSHIPS

NUCLEAR TIMES is accepting applications for internships. The program is a full-time apprenticeship in both editorial and business aspects of magazine publishing. Send resume and cover letter to *Renata Rizzo, Managing Editor, Nuclear Times, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001.*

EMPLOYMENT

Position Available: Executive Director of a non-profit institute devoted to new multidisciplinary approaches to research and education in the field of peace and national security. Must have background in administration and fund-raising and be willing to raise own salary. Abundant possibilities for an individual with initiative. Send resume to : Search Committee, Peace & Common Security (PACS), Fort Mason Center, San Francisco, CA 94123.

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Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast.
Please submit events as soon as they are scheduled.
April events due by March 1.

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

CTB CALENDAR

As part of the **Comprehensive Test Ban Campaign**, Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) is compiling a central calendar of national and local events planned by groups around the country, especially commemorations of the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Please send information about events that your organization is planning in support of an end to nuclear weapons testing to Kathy Dale, PSR, 200 Third St SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 547-7990.

CENTRAL AMERICA ACTIONS

A coalition of religious, Central American, and peace groups—including SANE, Sojourners and Mobilization for Survival—are organizing a network to prevent and/or resist escalation of the conflict in Nicaragua. Central America Week (**March 17-24**) will be marked by actions nationwide. For more information, *contact*: Local religious, peace or Central American groups or the Inter-religious Task Force on Central America, 475 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10115 (212) 870-3383.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

A national conference, ". . . and Economic Justice for All " will detail how debt, deficits and defense are connected to poverty, injustice and war, and feature Rep Ronald Dellums, Seymour Melman, Rep Tom Harkin and others, with workshops, music by Pete Seeger, and more; Riverside Church, **March 22 and 23**. *Contact*: The Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900 ext. 238.

FOUR DAYS IN APRIL

A national coalition of antinuclear, peace and social justice, and anti-apartheid groups has issued a Call to Action from **April 19-22** in Washington, D.C. Activities will include educational and cultural events (April 19), a massive march and rally (April 20), and training sessions (April 21) for lobbying and nonviolent civil disobedience actions on April 22. Mass actions are also planned for the West coast. Donations and endorsements are needed. For printed copies of the Call to Action, and more information, *contact*: April Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice, Box 2598, Washington, DC 20013-2598 (202) 667-9485.

LENTEN DESERT EXPERIENCE

A vigil at the Nevada Test Site, with prayer, meditation, nonviolent direct action and special celebrations during Holy Week; **Feb 20- April 7**. *Contact*: Nevada Desert Experience, 1720 W Bonanza, No 151, Las Vegas, NV 89106.

STARS CONVENTION

Colorado peace activists are planning a national convention, Stop The Arms Race In Space (STARS), from **May 3-5**. The goal of the convention is to organize a national coalition of groups to stop the Strategic Defense Initiative. If you'd like to sponsor the conference, send delegates, or serve on a planning committee, *contact*: Vicki Metcalf, STARS Convention, PO Box 915, Colorado Springs, CO 80901 (303) 471-1077.

JOBS WITH PEACE

The Jobs with Peace campaign is preparing local budget accountability hearings on **April 13** across the country. The hearings are designed to strengthen local coalitions working on budget issues. For more information contact Jobs with Peace, 76 Summer St, Boston, MA 02110 (617) 338-5783.

TAX DAY

On **April 15**, tax day demonstrations will take place around the country to support war tax resistance and protest escalating military spending. To find out what's happening in your area, or to register your action, *contact*: The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, Box 2236,East Patchogue, NY 11272 (516) 654-8227.

MARCH 1

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** Peaceworks, an exhibition of the Boston Visual Artists Union (BVAU), **through April 5**. Meet the artists on **March 13**. *Contact*: BVAU, 77 N Washington St, Boston, MA 02114 (617) 227-3076.

MARCH 2

CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** Workshop, "Interested in redirecting War Tax Dollars?" *Contact*: Northern California War Tax Resistance, 1257 Allston Way, Berkeley, CA 94702 (415) 843-9877.

MARCH 3

NEW YORK

• **New York** Symposium, "The Psychodynamics of Nuclear Numbness: Forces that Keep the Arms Race Going," with former White House nuclear strategist Roger Molander, Jungian analyst Barry Childers, and others; Ethical Culture Society. *Contact*: Harvey Kaplan, Union of Concerned Psychoanalysts and Psychotherapists, 130 W 57 St, New York, NY 10019.

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Newtown** "A Concert for Peace," with Philadelphia Musicians for Nuclear Arms Control; George School. *Contact*: Bucks County Peace Center, 213 Sycamore St, Newtown, PA 18940 (215) 860-1242.

• **Philadelphia** Talk, "Feminism and Peacemaking," with Lynn Shivers of the Movement for a New Society; on **March 24**. SANE's Robert Musil will discuss "First Strike and Nuclear War Policy"; on **March 31**, Plowshares activists Anne Bennis and Bill Hartman will speak about "Plowshares 8, Trident Nein and the AVCO Plowshares." *Contact*: The Brandywine Peace Community, 51 Barren Rd, Media, PA 19063 (215) 544-1818.

RHODE ISLAND

• **Providence** Poetry reading with Galway Kinnell; 2nd Presbyterian Church. *Contact*: Plowshares Support/RI, Box 3291, Wayland Sq, Providence, RI 02906.

MARCH 4

CALIFORNIA

• **San Mateo** Talk, "Star Wars," with Sydney Drell; First Unitarian Church, 248 N Ellsworth. *Contact*: The San Mateo Freeze Action Group (415) 342-3404.

New York

• **Maryknoll** Workshop, "Social Change through Nonviolence: The Witness of Scripture and Experience," with Nobel Prize nominee Hildegard Goss-Mayer and Fellowship of Reconciliation's (FOR) Richard Deats, **through March 8**. *Contact*: FOR, PO Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601.

MARCH 5

NEW YORK

• **New York** Public Meeting, "A Third World Perspective on the Peace Movement," with John David Cato, professor of Social Studies at La Guardia Community College; Wilke Memorial Building, 20 W 40 St. *Contact*: Bill Kenney, The American Movement for World Government, 20 W 40 St, New York, NY 10018 (212) 840-9452.

MARCH 6

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** Maryland Freeze Legislative Study Series, "Testing and Verification." On **March 20**, the series will examine the "History of the US/USSR Arms Race," and on **April 3** "Arms Control Treaties." *Contact*: Maryland Freeze, 301 E 25 St, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 467-6500.

MARCH 9

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** Regional conference, "Nonviolent Civil Disobedience: Now? Later? or Never? Educational Dialogue for the Peace Movement." *Contact*: Judy Freiwirth, CD Conference, 727 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 354-0008.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Benefit Concert for the Silo Pruninghooks and the Leonard Peltier Support Group, with Carrie Gerendasy and Larry Long. *Contact*: Clergy and Laity Concerned, c/o The Minnesota Church Center, 122 W Franklin Av, Minneapolis, MN 55404 (612) 871-8033.

MARCH 11

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** Talk, "Children and Nonviolence," with author Stephanie Judson. *Contact*: Helen Hollingsworth, American Friends Service Committee, 317 E 25 St, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 366-7200.

MARCH 12

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** The National Council of Jewish Women will award their Peace Prize; Women's Center, Council House. *Contact*: Lisa Horowitz (213) 651-2930.

MARCH 14

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Nashua** Meeting of the Nashua Peace Center War Tax Alternative Fund; 282 West Hancock St, #3. *Contact*: Ruth McKay, 17 Barretts Hill Road, Hudson, NH 03051 (603) 882-1320.

MARCH 15

COLORADO

• **Denver** "Empowerment in the Nuclear Age," National Conference of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND), with Rep. Pat Schroeder, Colorado state senator Polly Baca, Drs Helen and Bill Caldicott and others, featuring educational and skills training workshops and more; University of Denver, **through March 17**. *Contact*: WAND, PO Box 153, New Town Branch, Boston, MA 02258 (617) 643-6740.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Conference on the links between racism, militarism, the economy and unemployment; Sabathani Community Center, **through March 16**. *Contact*: Twin Cities Peace and Justice Coalition, 2401 University Av, St. Paul, MN 55114 (612) 871-5619.

MARCH 16

MONTANA

• **Chico Hot Springs** Meeting of Montana Lawyers for Peace, featuring slide show, "Many Paths to Peace." *Contact*: Prof. Jim Ranney, University of Montana Law School, Missoula, MT 59812 (406) 243-6492.

MARCH 20

OHIO

• **Delaware** The National Colloquium Speakers Series continues with a showing of the film, *The War Game*. On **March 27**, Harvey Wasserman, author and activist, will speak. Science fiction author Harlan Ellison (*A Boy and His Dog*) will speak on **April 3**. For more information, *contact*: Richard Elias, National Colloquium Coordinator, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, OH 43015 (614) 369-4431.

MARCH 21

NEW YORK

• **New York** Community Forum, "Nuclear Free Harbor," moderated by councilwoman Ruth Messinger, and featuring Rep Ted Weiss, Michio Kaku, and others. *Contact*: West Side Action, West Park Presbyterian Church, Amsterdam Av at 86 St (212) 799-7422.

MARCH 26

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** *Factwino: The Opera*, musical play expressing America's opposition to the policies of the Reagan administration and the New Right; Victoria Theater, **through April 31**. *Contact:* The San Francisco Mime Troupe, 855 Treat St, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415) 285-1717.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo

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AUGUST 6 AUGUST 9

What were you thinking, Mr. Taneguchi? What were you thinking while you lay on your stomach, a pillow under your chin, your back an open sore, the color of crimson? What were you thinking, Mr. Taneguchi, during the 21 months you never stood up and never rolled over, the boards beneath you rotted by the heat and radiation coming from your naked, 16-year-old body? What were you thinking, with your city half-destroyed, your country defeated, your Emperor, humbled before the Americans, asking you *to bear the unbearable? What were you thinking, Mr. Taneguchi?*

Sumiteru Taneguchi, the boy who could not possibly survive, now has two grown children of his own. This symbol of the savagery of the Bomb, and the will to outlive it, is not in good health but it is miraculous that he is alive at all. In many ways he is a walking ghost. He was targeted for death, he was meant to die, he was given up for dead, and yet here he is among the living, a husband and a father, still working for the post office, sitting in the conference room of the hall in Nagasaki which houses the city's A-bomb Museum, smoking a cigarette.

He has been famous for several years now in Japan and in antinuclear circles around the world (he appeared in the documentary *Dark Circle*). In the mid–1970s the U.S. Army sent to Japan photographs taken in Hiroshima and Nagasaki following the bombing. These pictures, long requested by the Japanese, caused a sensation. They were virtually the first color photographs of the aftermath of the bombing anyone in Japan had ever seen. Many showed victims—some badly burned, others bald and afflicted with radiation disease—posing with impossible dignity for the American photographers.

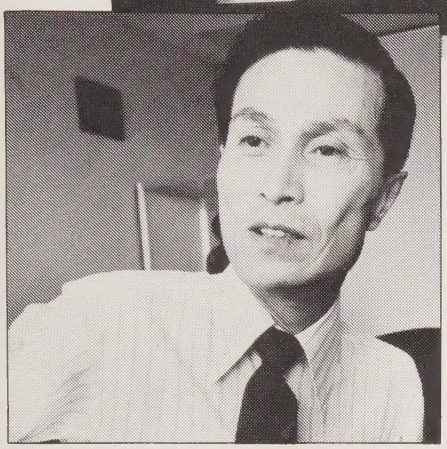
One picture in particular, taken at Ohmura Naval Hospital outside Nagasaki, attracted attention. It showed an unidentified youth lying on his stomach, his chin on a pillow, his back unbelievably raw, glistening, the color of crimson. It was the most powerful public evidence ever of the ability of the bomb to sear human flesh at great distances. And it showed the bomb's potential for causing human suffering long after detonation. No one who sees that picture ever forgets it. No one in Japan who saw it in the mid–1970s thought for a minute that this boy might have survived. No one who sees it today in the books and films in which it appears wishes anything except that this boy's suffering ended minutes after the picture was taken, with a merciful death. And yet this boy continued to suffer (even after his back somehow healed) and survived, and went back to work at the post office, and fathered two children.

Taneguchi first saw the famous photograph himself in 1975, when it was part of an exhibition in Japan. "I knew immediately that it was me," he says. "Looking at the picture I remembered anew the pain of those days."

Many of the hibakusha featured in the photos objected at first to their publication and dissemination. Some had been trying for three decades to forget what the Bomb had done to their bodies; others could never forget but were trying to hide the scars (physical and emotional) from friends and family. Taneguchi felt like protesting, too, but finally decided that "those who promote war and make weapons should see these pictures so that the damage in Hiroshima and Nagasaki should not be repeated. The politicians and the scientists of this world, including in Japan, should not make this weapon. To these people I feel I must protest."

Taneguchi is not stoic; he masks his emotions well but does not try to hide the fact that four decades after the bombing he is still suffering. He is gaunt and frail—when he coughs deeply from a cold one of his skinny, stunted ribs is bound to break—yet he has a strong bearing. He does not carry himself like a victim. His back, while scarred, is straight. Before the interview begins he cracks a joke or two. Then he says, offhandedly: "In the museum you probably saw burned pipes and stones exposed to the bomb. I was exposed to the same bomb. Delivering the mail that day I was blown off my bicycle by the same wind that blew off the roofs of factories." Taneguchi possesses the proud smile of a person who has done more than simply survive. In an age when the expression "he [or she] is a survivor" has been misused into meaninglessness, Sumiteru Taneguchi is the real thing.

Every couple of years Taneguchi must undergo an operation to remove a recurring growth on his back. He submerges some of his pain in political activity. "People often say that politics should be left to the politicians," Taneguchi says, "but it is up to the citizen to make good politics. Because of politics we suffered. So I am engaged in politics more than most." Taneguchi is a union activist, a member of the hibakusha relief group, Hidankyo, and a campaigner against U.S. Tomahawk cruise missiles, which



Taneguchi then and now

many Japanese believe are being sent to their country.

If asked gently, and in the right way—stressing the potential political effect—Taneguchi will take off his shirt and allow a photographer to show the world what his back looks like today. Still, it is a request that does not spring easily to an interviewer's lips. It is one thing to reproduce a photo of a boy taken a long time ago; it is quite another to ask that boy, now a grown man, to stand half-naked before you, half covered with scars, like a freak of the atomic age. In 1946 Taneguchi had no choice. The American occupiers came with their cameras and shot him when he was down, unable to cover his nakedness. Now other Americans have to ask for permission to photograph the same person, the boy who could not survive but is now a proud man.

Taneguchi responds favorably, if none too enthusiastically, but first he must deliver a speech. "I would like others all over the world to know what the bomb does," he says. "Mine is just an ordinary story. I ask you not to distort the story. I hope that you will report the truth and that our hopes will be realized—that all nuclear weapons are abolished so that human beings can live like human beings on this earth, soon."

Then he stands up and walks to the far corner of the conference room where the light from a window is soft and bright. He unbuttons his safari shirt with little apparent self-consciousness and lays it on a chair, faces the wall of windows overlooking palm-dotted Nagasaki, and turns his back to the cameras. It is not a pretty sight, yet it is riveting. One has seen in this very building bottles that were melted by the Nagasaki bomb, pipes that were twisted, tiles that were blackened, and now here is a man's back, an object like all the rest, which on August 9, 1945, happened to be facing a plutonium sun and was roasted like all the other exposed objects—no different, except that flesh burns and man experiences pain, and can recall it.

The skin is pulled tightly in several directions. It is a patchwork quilt of flesh and no two patches look alike. Some areas are tan, others brown or pale yellow, stretched like animal hide over a drum. No two areas of his back have the same sensitivity to temperature. In summer, Taneguchi had revealed, he suffers in air-conditioned rooms. Yet if he avoids air conditioning in tropical Nagasaki the heat is unbearable; all of the cells that would allow his back to perspire were destroyed by the burns. "People often say," Taneguchi had remarked earlier, "that after they sweat they feel better, though I have never experienced that pleasant feeling myself."

But now he is silent. Here he stands, half naked, almost directly under the spot where a plutonium bomb once exploded, sending out such a wave of blast and heat that a boy over a mile away was knocked off his bicycle and burned beyond belief. Taneguchi is staring out the window at an area of Nagasaki, now lush, where one day recently all life ceased to exist. Yet he survived. The Americans' cameras click. All else is uncomfortable silence. Taneguchi's back is straight, his head is up. He appears to be looking out the window. What are you thinking, Mr. Taneguchi? **—Greg Mitchell**

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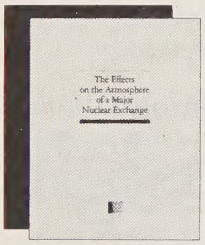

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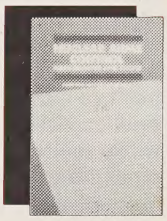

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